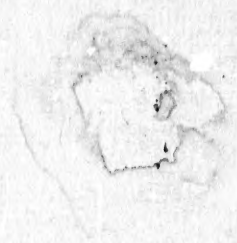


DAWN OF A NEW EMPIRE.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1911

DAWN
OF
A NEW EMPIRE,

BEING A REPLY TO

“REMARKS UPON THE PROPOSED FEDERATION OF THE PROVINCES, BY A NOVA-SCOTIAN.”

To-morrow is not ours.

BY A BRITISH AMERICAN.

HALIFAX, N. S.,
PRINTED BY MACNAB & SHAFFER,
1864.

1111

1111 1111 1111

1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111

1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111

1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111

1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111
1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111
1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111 1111

REPLY

TO

"REMARKS UPON THE PROPOSED FEDERATION OF THE PROVINCES."

THERE is a class of persons in the good city of Halifax, who, though not distinguished for, or laying claim to a knowledge of political economy, have never been wanting in desire to control public measures, from behind the scenes. Many of these gentlemen, who have hitherto had nothing to oppose to Colonial Union — now that our public men, laying aside their party quarrels, vie with generous and commendable rivalry, in putting into practice the theories which have been maturing for over a quarter of a century — now these men have suddenly bethought themselves, with Prince Malcom, to "confound all unity on earth."

A writer, who calls himself "A Nova Scotian," has lately, in a brochure of sixteen pages, entitled "Remarks upon the proposed Federation of the Provinces," whether designedly or accidentally, become the mouth-piece of these persons; and kindling with enthusiasm he has, after the fashion of "Farini," "Dr. O'Leary," and the "Ethiopian Minstrels," pressed posters into his service which, on every old wall in the city, proclaim that his anti-union opinions are for sale by the bibliopolists.

The writer commences and concludes his anonymous pamphlet by disclaiming dishonest motive, and vigorously protesting patriotism — patriotism, to use his own words, "from a Nova Scotian point of view." Leaving it to those who may be induced to read the "Remarks" to say whether fallacies and sneers are not clumsily concealed on

every page, and without pausing to protest whether my patriotic heart is bursting, I offer this anonymous reply—as anonymous productions ought to go—for what it is intrinsically worth, and I have no doubt the public will accept both these pamphlets, without enquiring—for it is none of their business—whether either or both are inspired by spotless patriots or selfish politicians, by immaculate saints or paid partisans,—whether they are by different authors or by an identical pen.

The arguments hitherto advanced in favor of British American unity are reduced by “A Nova Scotian” to four “reasons,” which he proceeds, in order, to demolish.

“1st. Mutual Defence.

“2nd. Rapid growth of Commerce.

“3rd. Inter-colonial Railway.

“4th. National Importance.”

It is not for me to complain that the arguments in favor of “Federation” are not fairly stated. I give “A Nova Scotian” his own way, and assume that he has fairly stated the case. My duty—and I do not even say that I am in favor of the “proposed Federation”—my duty is simply to dissect these objections.

First.—It is said that Federation will not promote defence, because “a Federal Government cannot suddenly magnify the *number of able bodied men*.” The word “suddenly” may be struck out as surplusage: and the answer is that *Immigration* is one of the great ends of the proposed Federal Government—an end which it may fairly be assumed, the *combined* energies of all the talent, experience and resources of the different provinces will be much more likely to secure, than can be hoped for, while each province is developing a scheme of its own. The experience of every day transactions—as well before as since the day of *Æsop* and his bundle of withs—and the history of nations, favors this view, and the *onus probandi* remains on those who undertake the task—the magnitude of which this “Nova Scotian” fails to appreciate. But it is not necessary to use the argument of increasing the number of able bodied men, and I pass it by for the present. The grand object in the way of defence, which a central govern-

ment secures, is through the power to move and control the able bodied men already made. Suppose the New England States had repudiated the right of the central government to move their "able bodied men," when the war broke out, and suppose each had declared, in the words of this Nova Scotian, that it had "no men to spare to march" to the point of danger, or suppose all disputed the direction of the point of danger, how long would the *united* South be in subduing the whole country. Is not political union a vital strength in war?

We are further told "that we have no men to spare to assist Canada;" and that "Canada would not send a man here." And then this flexiloquent "Nova Scotian," with singular luminousness, adds: "Of course we would all do our best to help one another should any difficulty arise." Mark, "we have no men to spare Canada," and "Canada will not send a man here"; but "of course" we shall all help one another. O, of course! "A Nova Scotian" has not an idea in his head to spare to assist the Canadian anti-unionist, and the anti-unionist cannot spare an idea to help "Nova Scotian." But "of course" they will do their best to help one another. Marvellous reciprocity! Then, "a defensive alliance would be quite as efficacious," we are told, as the proposed federation. Our author sets out to annihilate the union scheme: he opens his artillery on the argument of defence, and before he has wasted a thimble full of ink, he actually admits the principle of federation as far as the question of "defence" is involved.

Second.—Federation, it is said, will not increase the Commerce of Nova Scotia; because we do not *now* manufacture for Canada, and because the *nineteen* Federal members from Nova Scotia cannot prevent the *one hundred and seventy-five* from the other provinces from ruining our trade to enrich Canada. "What do we manufacture that Canada would take from us?" is a specimen of the catechetical straw we have to blow away. "A Nova Scotian" complains that none of our delegates were sufficiently acquainted with our commerce to answer that question. There is no one, we say *en passant*, better acquainted with our Commerce than most of these men who have made it the study of their lives. It is too true that we do not now

manufacture for Canada, or for any other million-bodied consumer, but formed, situated and supplied as we are by the great hand of the Maker for manufacturing, is it anything to kindle our pride that our politicians have built walls of ugly stones named tariffs, to prevent the spread and "growth of Commerce." Unless the wheels of Nature are turned backward, it is irrevocable that we British Americans, in Acadia, must become a powerful manufacturing people. Our coal and minerals and our fine water communication will ensure us that much: and the day will come when no part of the continent will be able to compete with us. Look at this beautiful blade I carry in my waistcoat pocket. It costs nothing for Birmingham to import the scrap of iron from which that is made. Look at the fine texture of this cloth. It cost the merest trifle to carry the raw material to Manchester. But you would not carry the Coal to the Iron or the Cotton. Besides we are of the hardy race of the North: And manufacturers like "empire comes from the North." Though labor rates at five or six cents per man per day in India, India sends raw cotton, across thousands of miles of treacherous dreary seas, to the foggy islands of Britain to be woven into fabric and carried back in ships to be worn in India. Cotton producing America does the same. Where Coal is in abundance, near the broad ocean highway, thither will throng swift ships to bring the raw material, and hence will they speed to distribute the manufactured article around the globe. Our carrying facilities are naturally perhaps the best in the world. These of themselves — to say nothing of our marvellous Fisheries — if we may judge by Holland and Venice, which, with this sole power of carrying, in the past, became fabulously rich — these of themselves when developed will make us prosperous and illustrious. How will they be developed?

It is an axiom of Political economy that population always follows capital. Just as capital increases or decreases the experience of all history, and the dictates of reason, show that population will increase or decrease. Does Political economy teach us also how we are to procure capital? "A more perfect *knowledge* of the country — says an able writer who sums up the learning of the chiefs in the science of political economy — and more per-

fect confidence in its prosperity diminish the unwillingness of persons in older countries to loan, and hence capital from abroad may be procured with greater facility." Let us then have a country which may be *known* and let us secure confidence by proper means of *defence*, and capital may be procured in abundance at a low rate of interest. Are we not informed by every mail that our provincial securities fluctuate in the British market with the prospects of Federation—rise with the hopes of a political union, and sink with doubt or despair of Union?

We know already, beyond doubt, that the vampire of a war debt is sucking the life out of the manufactories in the neighboring republic. A steadily rising, direct tax on manufactured articles, steadily bringing up the prices, is already driving cotton, shoe, sugar, soap, and other manufacturers into these Provinces, with their money, their skill, and their energy. Why shall we not take the tide at the flood? We are without great debt. The debt of our neighbors is daily, hourly,—with frightful rapidity,—increasing. How long can New England hold her manufactories against coal producing, marathime Acadia at this rate. What will three more years of war do? May not *Festina lente* be a fatal narcotic at our lips. "To-morrow is not ours," and to-day three millions of Yankee land's best customers—soon to be four or six millions—in Canada alone, are calling to us, to open our ports, kindle great furnaces with our coal, and start manufactories. Will we fold our arms, and sing to the soft tune of *Festina lente*?

"If this "Nova Scotian" imagines that his cry of alarm, that Nova Scotia will have only nineteen members of the Commons against one hundred and ninety-four from all the other Provinces, will startle men of ordinary intelligence, he is mistaken. If he means anything, he means by his italics that New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland will assist Canada to rob Nova Scotia. Now these marathime provinces are to have *forty-seven* members, which will give them the balance of power at Ottawa. With Lower Canada we will have *one hundred and twelve* against *eighty-two* from Upper Canada. Considering the close division in Canada, Nova Scotia herself could turn the scale, and make or break a ministry.

We are warned that Federation will increase taxation—

"our ad valorem duties will go up ten per cent." It is true that Canada pays twenty per cent. and New Brunswick fifteen, for certain unenumerated goods; but *the burden per head in Canada or New Brunswick is no more than it is in Nova Scotia*, and Canada is a more prosperous country than Acadia. *Ad valorem* duties are no index of the burdens of a people—that depends on the ratio of importations to manufactures—and if it were, is it to be taken for granted that our tariff, in the future, will not be regulated by the majority in the general Parliament. It is not an impossible financial feat to make us a less taxed people than we are, and at the same time to fix *twenty per cent.* on certain unenumerated goods. A "retrenchment" Acadian Senator will find the ears of the Canadians as sensitive as those of the Acadians, to reduce taxation. "A Nova Scotian" says, "if we once relinquish the control of our purse-strings we shall never recover it. That may seem a most startling "remark," yet all the answer it deserves is this—If we get control of the strings of an immensely greater purse we shall never seek to recover the strings of the smaller one. For the one *argumentum ad crumenam*, I politely submit another.

The great fallacy of this writer is the assumption that a majority will be continually combined against Nova Scotia to spoil her of her wealth. There is no reason why Nova Scotia will not be as safe in this Northern federation as little Rhode Island has always been in the American federation. There are besides to be other checks for our safety than the Republic of America afforded, and we have an appeal, in case of oppression, anterior to the appeal to the sword. There are really no fears that we shall be driven into the sea by federation.

Third.—It is denied that the Intercolonial railway is impossible without federation. This writer says that the railway will be of more importance to Canada than to us, and it must come even without federation. I take the money offer voted by Canada to be the measure of Canadian desire for that road. This vote was much less per head than was voted by Nova Scotia. But Canada withdrew from negotiations and refused to assist in building the road. Every year, as the power of her vast west in-

creases, the prospect of the success of the project would wane. Has she not a shorter and cheaper road to the ocean for commerce? And I have heard it denied that the road is of the strength of a single bayonet, as a military defence for Canada. "A Nova Scotian" admits that the "road will greatly benefit this province"; but he asserts without even a rag of reason or argument that Canada is more eager for it than we are. There is no doubt that her eminent statesmen, looking far down the future, with that kind of solicitude which prompts wise men to act for posterity, desire to secure an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean. The Canadian people are entirely apathetic, however. If we may be permitted to describe a future, with Canada a separate people, outgrowing her present greater ratio of increase, as she promises to do, and attaining magnificent proportions in the interior of the continent, she may then indeed "make use" of Acadia to gain the sea. We know how Prussia is tempted to lay a threatening hand on the Oldenburg territory to gain a fine outlet to the North Sea, and we have an Austria imprisoned in the centre of Europe violating the rich and fertile province of Venetia to touch the head of the Adriatic. We have already offered to pay *seven twenty-fourths* of the cash cost of the road. Now we can have it by paying *one thirteenth*, and we are told forsooth that Canada desires to victimize us. To-morrow it may be too late, and our children may verily be left the victims of the great inland people whose watchword is progress.

Fourth.—We are told that the *status* to be acquired by British American Union goes for nothing. Though now we stand nowhere among the nations, and though the one hundred and fifty millions of annual trade and twelve millions of tons of shipping which, united, we shall claim, will place us at once among the third rate powers of the earth, this pamphleteer sneers at "ideas of size and grandeur" as "utopian," and bids us put aside visions of a national greatness, and all we are to acquire both in the way of gain and glory, by assuming a national attitude, as foolish dreaming; and all he has to say to sustain his anonymous advice is that "it remains to be shown how the increase of our population will be more rapid, or how our

ideas will be expanded by exchanging our present position." I have already said that as we exist, instead of uniting the thoughts and energies and resources of these colonies, to stimulate Immigration, we have been busied in concocting separate party schemes — schemes which, as well where Immigration was the pretext as where Defence, Commerce or Railroads was, have been more effectual in propitiating place hunters and securing tenure of office than in attracting the surplus millions of the old world. It will be in violation of all experience if, when the united energies and intellects of the men who hold paltry sway to-day in these scattered fragments of territory come to be exercised in a wider arena, before the eyes of the world, in the great tasks which await them, there does not follow, as surely as a heavy harvest follows good tillage, or blossoms and fruit follow sun and showers, both "a more rapid increase of population" and "an expansion of ideas," not by any means to be treated by sneers and the narrow talk by which a hogshead of molasses or a quintal of codfish changes hands. Give us the "size and grandeur" which unionists demand, let our name be entered on the list of nations, and how long will the world remain uninfluenced by us, or we by the world, unknown, unhonored and unused, as we are, to day, save and except the echo which the report of the Quebec Conference has awakened in France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain and over this Continent. The streams of emigration — the tens of thousands of busy hands and active brains, crowded out of Europe, seeking homes under other skies will assuredly pass us by, so long as it remains unknown that we have an acre of soil, a mine, a mile of fishing sea coast, or a ship timber — much less all the arts, appliances and refinements of civilized life.

"The next best thing to being born in the old country is to be born in a British province" says this Nova Scotian, and he is not ashamed to post handbills offering that opinion for sale in Halifax. I say "it is devoutly to be hoped" the time is not far off when this kind of talk shall cease among the freemen of British America. The next best thing! If the man who wrote that actually be "a Nova Scotian" he is unworthy of the name. That man is a fawning sycophant to whom it does not seem, even now,

to be an equally good thing to be born here, in this broad, goodly British America of ours as in any other part of the habitable globe. If "Federation" will give us a healthier, manlier independence than some "Nova Scotians" seem to enjoy, in the name of Heaven, let us have it — and at once. Acadians desire to leave no such miserable heritage to their children—though legacies of wealth were attached to such a leek eating condition—as "next best" place for their children to be born in. Every man's country is the *best* to him and his, forever, if he have the spirit of manliness in him. *Crede quod habes, et habes.*

Putting aside the enquiry as to what may seem best, or "next best," the question now is can we in honor cling longer to the apron-strings. Has not our pupillarity slipped away. The press which makes and unmakes the advisers of the Sovereign of England has told us, in language now no longer to be mistaken, that we ought to be ashamed to overtax the sinews of the mother country. Calls entreaties, threats—every species of abjuration, known to the English tongue, to prepare for our own defence in case a rupture should occur between the cabinets of St. James and Washington, are ringing in the ears of every thoughtful British American. The press which makes and unmakes the President of the United States and his wars, tells us in pretty plain speech, that we shall be torn from the crown of England, as a punishment for alleged violation, on the part of Great Britain, of international comity. On the one shore of the Atlantic the cry is that we shall be attacked; on the other shore it is that we must learn to defend ourselves. This invitation to defend ourselves is a generous, liberal, and significant invitation from a great but overtaxed empire to her rising colonies, to assume the national garb. Justice and benevolence, says Professor Wayland—a high authority—are the cheapest and most honorable defence of nations. But will *our* Justice and Benevolence, though admitted by the United States, avail us anything while we remain a colony, with no voice in imperial councils, yet with all the responsibilities and the dangers of Imperial mistakes? It seems that we have to apologize for our very existence. How long shall we remain begging pardon of all flesh for being in the world? How long?